5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister [583] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the [616] mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo- [582] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as [614] well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.

571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is historical as well as traditional evidence that some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanano newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yurutí (or Dochkapūra-Uaiana [the *Uaikana* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

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101 A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papurí, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

[131]

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